

Peace News

The International Pacifist Weekly

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A speech the Press ignored

LESTER PEARSON AND 'UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER' DIPLOMACY

LESTER PEARSON, Canada's former Foreign Minister, supports NATO. Peace News does not. Nevertheless, we believe his speech made in the USA on November 3 at the University of Minnesota should not have gone unreported in Britain. Even in the USA, according to J. F. Stone's Weekly, it was largely ignored. Here are some extracts:

... One of two things will happen. (1) Nuclear war with inter-continental missiles against which no present defence would save us from total destruction; or (2) suspension between uneasy peace and global war in a state of tension and fear... all history shows that unless we do something about it, the second will ultimately lead to the first... nor does it do any good... to wrap ourselves in a cloak of impeccable rectitude and diplomatic rigidity...

I know that there are those who look with suspicion on every move which is made that implies a desire or even a willingness to negotiate; who call it 'appeasement'—one of those words debased by polemics—or softness toward Communism.

Such critics forget that if total and unremitting hatred of Communism were the only test of loyalty to democratic ideals, Hitler would be the greatest democrat of all time.

I quite realise that the easiest, and in some quarters the most popular attitude that we could adopt in the cold war would be a relentless and immovable stand on a platform of inveterate and inflexible

□ ON BACK PAGE

"Any increase in radio-activity causes some genetic effects"

Windscale: Peace News questions atom chief

SIR HAROLD HIMSWORTH, chairman of the Medical Research Council, was questioned by Peace News about the genetic effects of the Windscale accident at a Press conference in London last Friday.

The conference was called by the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority to explain technical aspects of the White Paper reporting on the accident.

Sir Edwin Plowden, chairman of the Atomic Energy Authority, and Sir William Penney were also among those present to answer questions.

Sir William Penney said that since Windscale was a military plant for making plutonium it was not possible to publish the whole of the report.

Replying to the question put by a Peace News representative, Sir Harold Himsorth agreed that "any increment of radio-activity caused some genetic damage."

But he pointed to the smallness of the concentrations of radio-activity resulting from the accident.

"If you ask me whether there is a theoretical possibility, I would have to answer 'Yes.' If you ask is there a practical possibility, I would feel justified in saying 'No.'"

TOMORROW! STUART MORRIS WILL OPEN THE PEACE NEWS

Christmas Bazaar and Social

SURPRISE FILM SHOW

3 p.m. Saturday, Nov. 16, Holborn Hall, Grays Inn Rd. W.C.1

Lester Pearson, Russell, Huddleston, King-Hall and Rajagopalachari

VOICES OF SANITY

—amidst the rocketry and H-bomb testing

THE revolt against what Lester B. Pearson, Canada's former Foreign Secretary has called "A rigid 'unconditional surrender' type of diplomacy" is growing.

We publish in column one extracts from Lester Pearson's speech at the University of Minnesota made on Nov. 3 but largely ignored by the world's Press.

Also, below, an appeal to "the enlightened men and women of England," sent to Peace News by India's elder statesman and former Governor-General, C. Rajagopalachari.

Further support for the forces of peace in Britain came last week from Bertrand (Earl) Russell, Father Trevor Huddleston, Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall and Frank Beswick, MP, who, in letters to the New Statesman, endorsed J. B. Priestley's call to Britain to renounce the H-bomb.

Bevan's capitulation to Foreign Office

Saying that he deeply regretted Aneurin Bevan's "capitulation to the Foreign Office," Earl Russell put forward three issues which British foreign policy has to consider:

1. Shall there continue to be human beings on the planet?
2. Shall Soviet Communism dominate the world, or may other systems survive here and there?
3. Can Britain continue to be regarded as in the same rank as Russia and America among great powers? □ ON BACK PAGE

Go "naked to the conference" THERE IS NO OTHER WAY

From C. Rajagopalachari

THIS planet has become too small for the ambitions of our times.

Yet, let us remember, it is not lawful to make experiments across other people's land or over their heads: experiments which contaminate the air and the waters that belong to others or which endanger their lives and health just because we are inclined to run a nuclear or ballistic race. We must reconcile inclination to obligation.

A discovery in science does not entitle us to demand a suspension of other people's rights or their lawful desire to live a quiet life.

This was obvious to a previous generation, but it seems now that the necessity for national "bargaining power" has blinded us!

How long can we seal up and dump dangerous poison in the sea, telling no one about it? It is bound to show up in dead fish and dead whales and otherwise, and not long hence in human sickness and disaster.

On whom shall we now depend for speaking up for truth and right? On whom if not on the enlightened men and women of England? After Rome, England has been the home of law.

Some of us believe still that the world has a good future and is not fated to end in

insane annihilation. We therefore hope that the leaders of England will refuse to toe the line for others in this wicked sport and will lead the neutral nations against the ballistic menace.

Extreme power must be met by extreme courage. Recklessness cannot be met by recklessness.

Let us oppose the strength of the soul to the infuriated atom that threatens the world. There is indeed NO other way but to put up the sword and to dare going "naked to the conference."

WHAT WE THINK

Pot and kettle politics

WE have referred in our Leading Article on page four to the gramophone-like response to all Russian suggestions for a face-to-face examination of the causes of international tension: "Let them first show by their deeds..."

There is a passage in Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's foreign affairs speech last week that is a striking example of words that could be used with just as much, or just as little, justification by each side in the East-West conflict.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd said:

"If the Soviet Union want to end the cold war they should stop the campaign to undermine us throughout the world; stop the campaign to increase tension in the Middle East; stop making propaganda out of postures on disarmament; stop using the United Nations as a platform for attacking the west."

Read that passage again with the words "Western Powers" substituted for "Soviet

IN PERSPECTIVE

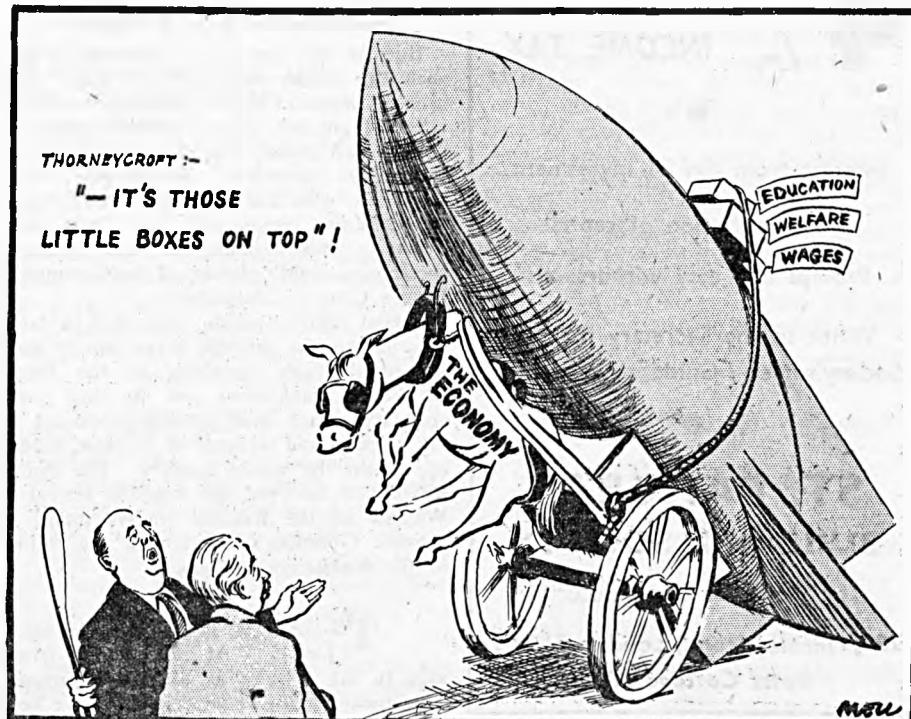
Union" and observe how perfectly it can fit from the Russian standpoint.

That Britain and the US want to undermine Russian influence throughout the world, and also the Russian regime itself, there is no question, no concealment, even. Every Western statesman and every Western newspaper proclaims it. We should be far from urging that this is wrong, but let us not count to Russia for crime what we count to ourselves for righteousness.

★ ON PAGE FOUR

PRINCIPLES AT ISSUE

"Central Africa and the British Parliament," an Africa Bureau pamphlet (4d. from 296, Vauxhall Bridge Rd., London, S.W.1) examines the background to and the implications of the Constitution Amendment Bill to be debated in Parliament this month. "It is vitally important that the public should understand the principles at issue," says the Bureau.



FREEDOM IN GOMULKA'S POLAND

By Peter Brock

A YEAR has gone by since Poland's October Revolution, when, under the leadership of the anti-Stalinist Communist, Wladyslaw Gomulka, and despite Russian opposition, the country succeeded in winning a large measure of internal freedom and of independence within the Soviet orbit.

These articles are not, I would stress, an attempt to give a full account of Poland's situation to-day or to recount its history over the last 12 months. My object has been much less ambitious. It has been merely to try to give some impression of the political situation as it affects the ordinary citizen in Poland, in a country, that is, which is still ruled by a Communist government and is militarily within the Eastern bloc, and yet at the same time is struggling to renew former contacts with the West, and to restore at least some of the basic rights of the citizen. During a two-month visit to Poland in July and August of this year, I was able to see at first hand

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Peter Brock, a lecturer in history at the University of Toronto, Canada, lived in Poland from 1946 to 1950, first as a Quaker relief worker and then as a post graduate student at Cracow University. He writes this series of three articles after a recent return visit of two months.

something of the changes that have come about.

ONE has only to be in Poland a few hours for the phrases "After October," "Before October" to crop up, and they are repeated in countless conversations. For the Poles to-day, as always, are a very politically conscious people, and politics form the background to most conversations, however casual. What indeed was achieved in October, 1956? And how much of what was gained then have the Poles, in fact, been able to retain?

When I left Poland in 1950 the country was already a one-party State dependent on Moscow in its foreign policy as well as for most of its domestic affairs. The security police was all-powerful, capable of arbitrary arrest and imprisonment, which was exercised freely against worker and peasant as well as city intellectual. People spoke openly only among friends. There were few sectors of public or private life where the ruling party did not impose its will. Contacts with the West were reduced to a minimum. Apart from some classics, only the books of Communists or fellow travellers were translated into Polish from any of the Western languages.

Poznan riots

The Press expressed the views of the Government alone. A rigid Marxist line was imposed on learning and literature, while Socialist realism was obligatory in art and music. Lysenko and Michurin prevailed in the biological sciences. Though churches were never shut down, the activities of the clergy were severely hampered, and many bishops and priests were imprisoned.

The peasants were required to sell to the State a high percentage of their produce at an extremely low price; and, while compulsory collectivisation was never carried to great lengths, pressure of one kind or another was being constantly exerted on the peasants.

The industrial workers indeed had benefited from increased social security, but at the same time a declining standard of living (which the Government steadily maintained was a rising one!) and an increasing dearth of consumer goods due to the policy of concentrating on heavy industry led to industrial discontent. Long suppressed, this finally spilled over into the famous riots which took place in June, 1956, among the factory workers in Poznan.

Gomulka's return

But by this time the Government had seen the danger signals—the "thaw" had already begun in Russia, and this was being reflected in the other satellite countries. The Polish Press, too, was becoming increasingly outspoken. In October, 1956, Gomulka, who had been imprisoned under the Stalinist regime for his "nationalist deviation," was brought back into power at the famous eighth plenum of the Communist Party's Central Committee.

His return, which was due in large measure to the attitude taken up by such influential party members as the Prime Minister Cyrankiewicz and the then party secretary Ochab, was actively supported by the workers and students of Warsaw, indeed by almost the whole country. The Polish Revolution survived the dramatic arrival in Warsaw of the Russian leaders intent to prevent Gomulka's return and the failure of the Hungarian uprising.

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TO-DAY in Poland people speak freely. "At any rate," a friend said to me, "we're at liberty to grouse." This means a lot to people who have been

unable to express even the mildest dissent for a decade or more.

Now for even the plainest speaking, no one goes in fear of arrest. On the streets and in the cafes one can hear most controversial subjects discussed: the policy of the Government, the Soviet Union, the Polish émigrés abroad, the behaviour of local officials, etc., etc. Nevertheless, it is true that some, particularly elderly people, who tend on the whole to be less optimistic about the permanency of the changes made than the younger generation, are careful what they say in public—"just to be on the safe side," as someone expressed it to me. But this is perhaps largely a matter of temperament. By and large one may say that there is complete freedom of speech in present-day Poland.

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BUT it is a rather different matter when one comes to consider freedom of the printed word or of association: both traditionally regarded as touchstones of liberty in the West. This has been shown by the recent suppression of the weekly *Po Prostu*, which has been widely reported in the newspapers.

Everything that is published has still to be submitted to the censor for approval. The Government control, directly or indirectly, the paper supply and the printing works and most of the publishing houses. Permission must be obtained to start up a new paper of however modest dimensions.

What kind of things are censored? In the first place, unfavourable references to the politics of the Soviet Union or to the governments of the other "people's democracies," which, the Government fears, might lead, if too often repeated, to outside intervention.

Secondly, in domestic politics the authorities appear to be afraid that frequent attacks by the Press on the workings of the administration (so many of whose officials have indeed been guilty of gross abuses as well as various administrative malpractices) might undermine the authority of the State. And if disturbances and unrest ensue, this, too, could lead to intervention.

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IN Poland's present position a case can indeed be made out for some kind of censorship. For undoubtedly the feeling throughout the country against Russia is very strong—not least among the young Communist intellectuals whose meetings with the Soviet writers during the Youth Festival in Moscow this summer were stormy. Such feelings might easily get out of control and bring about another Hungary. Anyhow, as an old social democrat said to me: "There is no need to write about what the Russians have done to us. Everyone knows already."

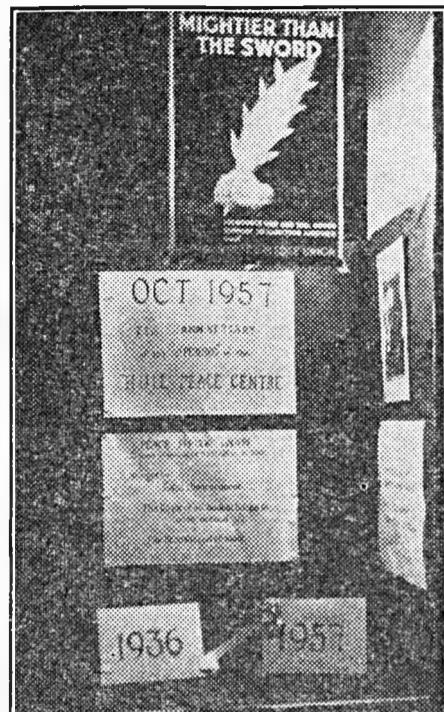
It is also worth noting that, while earlier the censor's decision was final, since "October" editors and publishers may argue and even bargain with him. Getting around the censorship has been reduced to a fine art. To give just one example. A young poet threatened to refuse to allow his book to be published if the censor cut out a poem dedicated to the Hungarians. The volume appeared with the poem untouched—but the title dedication was omitted. Recent events, however, would indicate that Press regulations are to be tightened up.

Censorship

Indeed, censorship is always a dangerous thing, and the temptation great to wield it in defence of vested interests and not merely to remove cause for foreign interference.

Every organisation, too, from sports club upwards, must obtain permission from the Government. This, indeed, is sometimes refused on the grounds that the new organisation is redundant. (Concerning political parties I shall say more later.) Such conditions may sound unsatisfactory to those used to Western democracy. No longer, however, if a few people meet together privately for discussion, need they fear that they will be accused of organising subversion against the State. And that, after the experiences of the last decade, is something Poles to-day know how to value.

(To be continued.)



BIRTHDAY IN HULL

FOR 21 years a Peace Pledge Union shop window has been maintained in Hull by the local PPU Group.

At their birthday celebrations recently the present Chairman of the Hull group, Violet Mitchell, recalled that it was after looking at the window display on her way from work that she decided to go in and sign a pledge card. She took away some literature and burst in on her family with the news "I've joined the PPU." Later all the family joined.

Stuart Morris, PPU General Secretary, said that the window must have done much to make people peace conscious in Hull. He congratulated those who had the vision to start the peace centre and the determination of those who had maintained it through years of conflicting fortunes.

An iced cake, presented by Councillor Clarke, was cut by a founder member, Miss Appleby.

Sir Gerald Hurst, QC, World War II CO Tribunal chairman, died recently at the age of 79.

MAURICE ROWNTREE MEMORIAL FUND

This fund was opened to give friends of Maurice Rowntree the opportunity of expressing their gratitude for his services to pacifism in general and the Peace Pledge Union in particular, and a sum of £1,500 was raised.

The AGM in 1949 agreed to the proposals that one room in Dick Sheppard House should be called Maurice Rowntree Room and that it should be re-decorated, furnished, and subsequently maintained from the fund, and that the balance should be invested in the St. Pancras Building Society and the interest used for the purpose of providing grants to facilitate the interchange of visits between Britain and other countries. It was further agreed that the National Council should be empowered to recommend other uses for the fund from time to time if it seemed desirable.

Acting on behalf of National Council, the Executive Committee has made several grants, mainly to assist in visits abroad which would have the purpose of establishing further contacts between pacifists, which would not have been possible without some such assistance. It does not normally give grants for visits of a holiday character.

The Executive is always ready to give sympathetic consideration to any application from a member of the PPU for assistance towards the cost of travelling abroad when some specific purpose is involved. It is also ready to consider making grants to members of other sections of the WPA who would like to visit Britain for a specific purpose such as that mentioned above.

Applications should be made in the first instance to the General Secretary, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

CHRISTMAS PEACE WEEK

Friendship House, Bückeburg, Germany, December 22-29. Full week of celebrations, excursions, etc. Five guineas. Asians and Africans especially welcome.

Details from A. Brocklehurst,
77, Brent Way, Finchley, N.3.

Follower of non-violence has home searched

By Mavis James

A CONSCIENTIOUS objector whose home was searched for concealed weapons and seditious literature appeared before the London Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors on Sept. 9 and Nov. 1.

He is Harold Mangar of British Guiana. He told the Tribunal that he is in Britain to study accountancy. At the present moment he is employed as a capstan operator.

In his statement to the Tribunal, he said that he opposed British rule, and that his country was fighting for independence. When he returned home he wished to take part in that fight.

Sir Gerald Hargreaves, Chairman, informed the applicant that a Tribunal for conscientious objectors is not empowered to exempt people whose objection was to British politics. He suggested that this being the case, and that Mangar had claimed that he had to support his mother and four brothers, it would be more suitable for him to take his application to the Hardships Tribunal.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE

Mangar waived the suggestion. He believed he had a conscientious objection. Mr. Tudor-Davies, a member of the Tribunal, pointed out that his phraseology did not indicate this. He had stated that he wished to return to take part in the fighting, remarked Mr. Tudor-Davies.

Mangar claimed an objection to the use of force. There was fighting by other means, he said. If peace was wanted, peaceful means should be employed.

"If you want peace, you look for every peaceful solution. In British Guiana we use passive resistance, and never use force."

He said that the people boycotted certain things.

At the first hearing, Sir Gerald Hargreaves enquired why the applicant's house had been searched for explosives. With some bitterness in his voice, Mangar replied that it was merely a matter of form employed by the British to make it seem as though the people were using force, and so diminish the people in the eyes of the world.

The case was adjourned in order to allow the applicant to produce evidence that he had never fought with weapons and had, in fact, associated himself with non-violent resistance.

CONDITIONAL EXEMPTION

Such evidence was produced at the second hearing. Testimonials from prominent citizens in British Guiana, including a J.P., who had known him since his early school-days, confirmed that Mangar was known as "a staunch believer in non-violence," and was "true and sincere in his beliefs."

Although the Tribunal granted conditional exemption, Mangar was displeased. He said that he must complete his studies whilst in this country, and he must do this within an accounts office. He therefore wanted unconditional exemption.

Sir Gerald Hargreaves was in the process of advising him to take this part of his application to the Hardships Tribunal when the Ministry of Labour clerk presiding intervened to say that this was not possible after a person had been through the CO Tribunal.

The matter will be resolved between the applicant and the Ministry of Labour.

RELIGIOUS FLASHPOINT

THE NEXT WAR — METHODISTS DECIDE TO FACE ALL WAYS

The Methodist Conference in 1957 decided to issue a Declaration on Peace and War.

The Methodist Church Declares:

(1) That Methodists who are pacifists will be upheld by the Church.

(2) That Methodists who are non-pacifists will be upheld by the Church.

(3) That Methodists who are non-pacifists but who consider that the use of nuclear weapons is just too bad, will be upheld by the Church.

Wallace Hancock. Movement for a Pacifist Church, 8 Barclay Oval, Woodford Wells, Essex.

Prisoners for Peace Day LONDON AND WASHINGTON DEMONSTRATIONS PLANNED

Do you know that several thousand men are at this moment in the world's prisons, not for theft or for acts of violence, but for honest refusal to learn to kill?

There are 53 countries, in addition to Great Britain, which have compulsory military service, and these prisoners are the men who on grounds of conscience refuse to be conscripted for military purposes.

THEY HAVE THE COURAGE AND SPIRITUAL STRENGTH TO WORK FOR PEACE WHILE THEIR GOVERNMENTS PREPARE FOR WAR. THEY SERVE BOTH "EAST" AND "WEST," FOR THEY SERVE HUMANITY.

Neither they nor we ask for sympathy. Neither the boy in Greece recently sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, nor the man in Yugoslavia doing twelve years' forced labour on a starvation diet, nor those serving shorter sentences in Britain, want your tears. They do deserve your respect.

DECEMBER 1 IS PRISONERS FOR PEACE DAY—set aside each year to honour by free action those who are not free.

Are you using your freedom to stop the utterly insane nuclear weapons race?

From behind prison bars these peacemakers silently challenge us to turn from self-destruction and devote our energies and resources to the creation of a warless world.

THE above is the text of a leaflet prepared by the British Section of the War Resisters' International (the Peace Pledge Union) for distribution when Dr. Soper leads a march through London on the evening of Prisoners for Peace Day, Sunday, Dec. 1.

The leaflet will also be available for use in connection with other activities being planned for that day throughout Britain.

On the same day as the London march there will be a big "Prisoners for Peace" demonstration outside the White House, Washington. It will commence at 3.30 p.m., half an hour after the close of the month-long Prayer and Conscience Vigil against nuclear tests.

A big feature of Prisoners for Peace Day is the sending of Christmas cards to imprisoned war resisters. Groups of people in large cities and small villages all over the world are preparing to meet together on Dec. 1 to post off their cards.

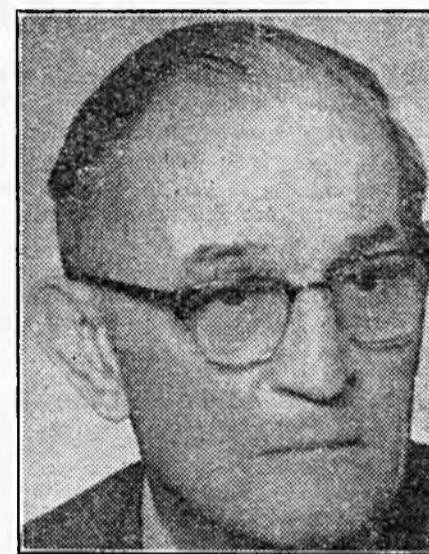
In Bad Gandersheim, Germany, Wilhelm Ude has ordered 200 copies of the list giving the names and addresses of the prisoners from the War Resisters' International Headquarters at 88, Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex, UK.

(The list will be published in Peace News on Nov. 29.)

In South Africa the Fellowship of Reconciliation is also making plans for the day.

In one English country town, Alton,

hants, people are being invited to the home of Ted and Phoebe Berrow to spend the day fasting in sympathy with the prisoners and also sending out Christmas cards, discussing and meditating.



Pastor Martin Niemoller is to preach from the Central Hall, Manchester, in the ABC's Television programme, "Living Your Life," on Sunday, November 17, at 6.15 p.m. The programme will be networked throughout Britain.

Dr. Niemoller will be in London next year to address a public rally for the Peace Pledge Union.

RADAR STATIONS FOR BASUTOLAND?

From Basil Delaine

THE people of Basutoland are greatly disturbed by news that plans are being discussed to site radar stations in their country. President of the Basutoland African Congress, Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, has sent a letter of protest to the High Commissioner for Basutoland, Sir Percival Liesching.

Sir Percival is at present discussing radar sites with the South African Government.

Mr. Mokhehle's letter said:

"We are greatly perturbed by Press and Radio reports that you are discussing secret plans with the Union Government's Minister of Defence, Mr. Erasmus, for the siting of radar stations in Basutoland. I hereby register a very strong protest on behalf of the majority

of the people of the country against the talks.

"The proposed radar stations in our country are regarded as the thin edge of the wedge. Once the Union defence forces get a foothold in our country we feel convinced nothing will ever get them out.

"Imbued as they are with their racism and with the traditional provocative attitude towards Africans, their presence in this country would result in friction—the repercussions of which may lead to very serious consequences."

The South African Press Association reported that the letter said discussions were being held without even any reference to the Basuto and that this was a subtle way of effecting incorporation of their country into the Union without their realising it.

Briefly

A motion "That this House believes that the advance of Communism necessitates the production and testing of the British atomic and hydrogen bombs" was last month rejected by a large majority in the University of London Union. Well known speaker for the opposition was Sydney Silverman, MP.

So that it can send representatives to the next WRI Congress in India in 1960 the Danish section of the WRI has started a special fund.

November 15, 1957—PEACE NEWS—3

THE £50 CHALLENGE

FIFTY pounds for the Peace News Fund if four others will contribute a similar amount by Dec. 31.

This offer has been made by an old friend in South Devon. Readers everywhere, what can you do?

A total of £250 would do much to relieve our present difficult financial situation, for we need



£1911 by Dec. 31

Would someone like to match this offer with \$250? Can we ask for help from more of our friends overseas, folk like the reader in Western Australia who, sending a contribution to the fund, wrote that he greatly valued Peace News as a counter-balance to the "Might is Right" conditioning of the daily press?

And a word about the Christmas Gift Subscription form you will see on page 6: Do take out Gift Subscriptions this year, many new readers are among the keenest supporters of the Peace News Fund.

Last year one of our new subscribers promptly sent a gift in turn to the PN Fund, writing "I have been very much impressed by many of the articles you have published especially those on Africa and the passive resistance movement in the USA." She came from Glasgow, where they know the value of money. A double compliment!

And don't forget that £50 challenge.

THE EDITOR.

Total since Jan. 1, 1957: £1586 14s. 4d. Contributions since Nov. 1, 1957: £60 5s. 8d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

To guide readers who wish to benefit Peace News when making their wills, the following form of Legacy is suggested: . . . and I give the sum of £..... free of duty to Peace News, Ltd., the principal place of business of which is at 3 Blackstock Road, Stoke Newington, in the County of London.

Police at African Meetings

WE have been informed by an eye witness, noted for his racial impartiality, that since June, 1957, more than 100 police are present at all African political meetings. The manner of their appearance with the background of the Emergency gives an impression of psychological intimidation.

For instance, a number of pick-up lorries and police vans are parked outside the place where the meeting is to be held, similar to those used during the Emergency, when people were swept into detention on suspicion and kept, in some cases, for years without trial and without even being charged.

The European police officers inside the meeting are armed with revolvers and the African police with batons. A few of the African police armed with rifles are placed at strategic intervals round the hall.

All this reminds the African audience vividly of the Emergency and creates in them an atmosphere of fear. The African Congress feels they should be allowed to control their own meetings, or anyhow should have only a minimum number of police on routine duty, as was the case in pre-Emergency days in meetings held by all races in Kenya.

—From "Kenya Curtails Civil Liberties," by Eileen Fletcher (Civil Liberties, 46, Westbourne Grove, London, W.2. 6d. post free.)

St. Christopher School

LETCHWORTH

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Pot and kettle politics ★ FROM PAGE ONE

DOES Mr. Selwyn Lloyd really pretend to believe that there is nothing in US activities in the Middle East that Russia is entitled to regard as increasing tension; nothing in the Franco-British invasion of Egypt that Russians could legitimately regard as a threat to peace?

If after the months of fruitless examination of the question of disarmament Russia is in a position to make propaganda out of "postures on disarmament," why is it that we cannot do so also?

Is it that the Russian postures can be made to look more convincing?

If so, it is surely necessary to take another look at the realities behind the postures.

As for the concluding exhortation to Russia to "stop using the United Nations as a platform for attacking the West," has Mr. Selwyn Lloyd never observed Mr. Cabot Lodge using the United Nations as a platform for attacking Russia?

Has he no recollection of having himself so used it?

What Mr. Lloyd has said in the past about Russia in the United Nations has had considerable justification, but equally the Russian attacks that Mr. Lloyd objects to are also not without a considerable basis of fact.

The way to deal with such attacks is to remove the grounds for them; it is highly probable that in removing the grounds for the Russian attacks the West will be making its best possible contribution for the removal of the grounds for its own attacks on Russia.

Talks at which summit?

THE first of the BBC's Reith Lectures, broadcast on Sunday night by Mr. George Kennan, was a welcome contrast to Mr. Eisenhower's speech a few days earlier.

Then the President shared with the British Prime Minister a liking for clichés and although mainly concerned to meet the hysteria which is the predominant mood in the United States, had no new proposals to offer. While trying to restore American pride and to reassure the American people, he only talked in terms of speeding up the arms race and so increasing the tension. "Anything they can do we can do better."

Not so Mr. Kennan, who out of a wide knowledge and experience of Russia gave a reasonable estimate of the situation. While not minimising the important differences between East and West, he put them in a proper perspective, particularly in regard to competition in economic and scientific fields and its relationship to the arms race.

He warned against the frame of mind which sees in any Soviet progress an additional threat to Western security, but he was unable to get away from the traditional view that the only answer to nuclear weapons in the hands of the Soviet Union is greater nuclear power in the hands of America.

"Our problem is no longer to prevent people from acquiring the ability to destroy us; it is too late for that. Our problem is to see that they do not have the will or the incentive to do it. For this we have to preserve and cultivate our retaliatory capacity."

There, once more, is the fallacy of the great deterrent, and it would have been more in keeping with the rest of his argument if Mr. Kennan had emphasised the need and ways of establishing goodwill and removing causes of fear. It will be interesting to hear how he deals in future lectures with some of the specific problems and especially the presence of Soviet troops in Eastern Europe and the reunification of Germany.

In the meantime, it is tragic that although the NATO nations are holding their "Western powers only" summit talks to speed up preparations for war, they have shown no inclination to accept Mr. Khrushchov's proposals for East-West summit talks to speed up preparations for peace.

The Bibo appeal

IN a recent broadcast talk from London on Hungary, Mr. Andrew Révai referred with approval to the remarkable article sent out of Hungary by István Bibó,



a member of the short-lived Nagy Government, and published in France Observateur and subsequently in Esprit.

We gave a brief summary of the contents of this article a fortnight ago.

Mr. Révai made the following significant comment:

"The onus lies on the non-Communist world, the Western democracies and the non-committed nations, for not having realised the inherent possibilities of the revolution and for not endeavouring to offer such guarantees as might have induced the Soviet Union to permit this experiment."

The significance of the existence and the export of this Bibó document seems to point to the need for a very complete re-examination by the Western Powers of their conception of the best method of bringing relief to the peoples of the Communist satellites, and the spirit in which this re-examination should be undertaken seems to us to have been expressed by Mr. George Kennan in his Reith Lecture last Sunday when he said:

"My plea is for greater detachment and reservation of judgment on our part toward internal happenings in Russia. Their world is not our world; their for-

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TO TALK OR NOT TO TALK

IT was only to be expected. There will be no immediate response from the West to the suggestion, made by Mr. Khrushchov last week, that there be a new summit meeting.

Indeed, it is hardly likely that Mr. Khrushchov anticipated acceptance. The invitation came as part of a speech which was full of jubilation at Russian scientific advance and the implications this contained with regard to Russian military strength.

Russia can feel that she has cancelled out the menace of the great circle of bases that the US has built up during the past ten years, that she can now "negotiate from strength"—a policy which the West favour for their side only.



THE truth is that Russia has been persistently seeking direct talks over months, well before the first Sputnik was launched.

In September feelers on the armaments issue were made by the Soviet Ambassador in East Germany, Andrei Smirnov, through a US Government representative. On Oct. 5 Mr. Gromyko had a long talk (subject unknown, but thought to be a follow-up on the Smirnov approach) with Mr. Dulles. On Oct. 7 Mr. Khrushchov gave a newspaper interview in which he said that "if the US displays a readiness, there are no questions upon which agreement could not be reached."

Despite these approaches, in his speech following on that of Mr. Khrushchov, President Eisenhower did not even refer to the Russian suggestion, while in his speech last Friday, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd said that before there can be any talks Russia must be able to indicate a desire for peace by her deeds—an outworn cliché that no statesman should now be able to produce without blushing.

It is a foregone conclusion that the West will not consider new talks with Russia until after their own "summit" meeting to overhaul NATO. More certain, however, is the fact that Western statesmen will at some time have to develop a readiness to talk about the core of the problem of co-existence unless they come to accept the inevitability of a third world war and general destruction.



EVEN before the Sputniks, Western statesmen had rightly pointed out that an East-West meeting which failed would leave international relationships a great deal worse than if the talks had not taken place.

Although the 1955 summit meeting at Geneva produced nothing positive, it generated hope because it registered a general realisation of the finality of a new war. It is because nothing has been done since to draw the positive lessons from this general realisation that the position to day is so much more threatening.

Because a new summit meeting that failed would be a catastrophe, there is no reason for rejecting the idea of further talks. If the human race is to continue the antagonists will have to come together and find some way not to be antagonists.

The alternatives that face us are not the acceptance or rejection of co-existence; they are co-existence or co-non-existence.

● The lesson of Geneva is not "no more meetings unless success is assured."

It is "enter into talks with a resolve that there shall be no failure."

The key to success is this: enter the talks, not to find out what the other side has to offer (although there will naturally be the hope that something will be offered) but with one's own offers, one's own readiness to make sacrifices and to exercise trust.

● If one side only enters the talks in this spirit a success will be registered.

If both sides do so the success may be such a striking one that it may change the prospect offered by the new scientific developments into a promise of a new and fuller life instead of the threat of death.

We hope that behind Mr. Khrushchov's insistence that new summit talks would be of value there may be a genuine readiness to make real concessions to the views and fears of the West.

We hope even more that when President Eisenhower, Mr. Macmillan and M. Gaillard—if these should still be the people concerned—decide that the time has come to seek a sound basis for co-existence they will have reached a prior readiness to make concessions to Russian views and fears.

tunes need not always be the diametrical opposite of our own."

In all the Communist nations it is apparent that the leadership is having to contend with new popular pressures. We want these pressures to succeed, but it will be a great deal better if the Communist Governments can struggle, however painfully, to their anticipation and satisfaction rather than that the new freedoms should be won as a result of a bloody and destructive struggle.

What Bibó and Révai seem to be telling the West is that we can help in this process. It is our duty to listen to them.

M. Faure on China

M. EDGAR FAURE, who was French Prime Minister in 1955, seems to have reached a conclusion parallel to that of Mr. Kennan.

M. Faure has spent a period in China and has made contact with the Chinese leaders in Peking. He has now written a book, "The Serpent and the Tortoise," in which he contends that a policy by the West which could produce a more liberal outlook in China is possible and that it is the opposite of the policy pursued by Mr. Dulles and the US Government.

The only sound psychological strategy, he urges, is to make the Chinese understand that we wish to aid them to take their place in the concert of nations and not to build around them a new Great Wall.

The fact that Mao Tse-tung's period of liberalisation, the policy of the hundred flowers, ended in disaster for some of the more independent-minded Chinese intellectuals—that it lasted in fact only 45 days, after which those who had too rashly revealed themselves had to meet with victimisation—need not have been a deliberate piece of machiavellianism. It was much more likely to have been a genuine attempt, expressing a genuine hope, but which resulted in uncovering, as Mr. Kennan remarks in regard to similar happenings in Russia, "the full depth of the unhappiness of these people and the startling degree to which the Marxist-Leninist ideology had lost its power over their minds and creative impulses."

This factor is still there and it creates terror in the minds of the Communist leaders, however much they would wish to relax the rigours of the regime. How we in the West can assist the leaders of the "popular democracies" to introduce some of the fundamentals of democracy should be a main preoccupation today.

To join suicide club

IT seems probable that one of the consequences of the successful launching of the two Sputniks will be the removal of the ban on the manufacture of nuclear weapons by Western Germany.

At the time of the signing of the Paris Agreement, Peace News asked how long the ban was likely to remain in view of the determination of the West to make the fullest possible use of Western Germany in their defence system.

The latent fear of Germany still remains, as was shown when the recent meeting to prepare for the next NATO talks at top level stated that, although the Allies had long agreed that Germany must one day be united, it was better if for the time being Germany remained divided as the price to be paid for the avoidance of a third world war.

Since then the hysterical reaction in America to the Russian satellites has meant that a Germany rearmed even with nuclear weapons is less feared than the new potentialities of Russian aggression.

If the intention of Britain to reduce its contribution, the impossibility of Western Germany providing the manpower originally expected and the general reappraisal of the military situation leads to a decision that NATO should rely increasingly on nuclear weapons, it would be only logical to expect that Western Germany should also make her contribution in that field. But, whatever may be Dr. Adenauer's desire, German scientists have already voiced on behalf of thousands of their fellow countrymen, their aversion to participation in the bloodiest of all traffic. Moreover, such a decision would be bitterly resented by the Soviet Union and must mean that in the last resort Germany is expected to pay the full price for Western security.

Colonial Freedom Congress?

By FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

Chairman of the Movement for Colonial Freedom and one of the four Vice-Presidents elected at the Congress. Nicholas Lanitis of Greece was elected Congress President

A VERY significant conference was held in Greece last week. The Press paid little attention to it, except to dramatise the withdrawal of the French delegation; but politically this Mediterranean and Middle East Conference was of great importance. It revealed remarkable unity in principles and policy among representatives of movements in twelve countries and established conditions for united action between them.

The delegations themselves were important. Four of them—Morocco, Tunisia, Syria and Yugoslavia—represented the major Parties of their countries. The delegates from Algeria and Cyprus represented movements which may be outlawed but which nevertheless undoubtedly have the backing of the majority of their populations. The delegations from Italy, Greece and Egypt were wide-based on varied organisations. The delegates from France, Lebanon and Britain represented Opposition elements; the French, small but brave; the Lebanese confident that the future is theirs; the British, including five Labour MPs, with the Movement for Colonial Freedom behind them. All told, a considerable moral power.

French withdrawal

Let us first consider the significance of the French withdrawal, because it has some wide implications. Delegates arrived from two Algerian organisations; the Front of National Liberation (FLN) and the Algerian National Movement (MNA). The former now represents the mass fighting force in Algeria, the latter has a great historical record and still has influence in France. Both seek Algerian independence.

But once methods of violence are adopted those who do not participate in the major movement are regarded as traitors, with the appalling result that adherents of the two organisations are now assassinating one another. This is not only the result of violence in Algeria. It happened in Kenya, where the Mau Mau killed more Africans than Europeans. It is now happening on a smaller scale in Cyprus. Violence and tolerance cannot exist together.

The FLN delegates refused to sit in the Conference with a representative of the MNA and the delegates from the other Arab countries supported them. The British opposed the exclusion of the MNA delegate but, except for two out of ten delegates, remained in the Conference. The French opposed and, except for one delegate, withdrew. All the other delegations supported the FLN.

This incident reflects an issue which one conference cannot settle. The majority of the British delegation took the view that

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they should not withdraw from a conference representing a broad movement however much one differed on a single, though important, issue. If one did that those who oppose the Labour Party decision on the hydrogen bomb should have withdrawn from the Brighton Conference.

Apart from this difference, the movements in these twelve countries were extraordinarily agreed. I find it is of deep significance that whenever representatives of the peoples in colonial countries or in countries which have recently emerged from colonialism, get together the same pattern of policy in relation to world affairs is revealed.

Positive neutrality

This was the Bandung Conference over again. It stood of course for the unqualified right of all peoples to self-determination and for the equality of all races; but it did more than that. It stood for positive neutrality between the two Power blocs, for opposition to military alliances such as the Bagdad Pact and SEATO and to the establishment of military bases in foreign countries. It insisted that the cause of colonial liberation and peace are inseparable and demanded the ending of the manufacture and testing of nuclear weapons. It called for drastic disarmament.

It was very interesting to find that the Middle East delegations asked for the withdrawal of the Great Powers of both sides from their territories. They did not want intervention either by America or Russia. They did not want arms from either side. They resented political and economic pressures.

They asked that economic aid should come through United Nations agencies such as SUNFED rather than from particular countries, and that until SUNFED operates, any aid from one Power should be without strings. In effect they asserted their own independence.

Admittedly, the Israel problem remains unresolved. It is too early yet to find a basis of solution; but some advance was made in a resolution which urged that United Nations decisions should be applied and that UN assistance to the Arab refugees in Palestine should be maintained for re-settlement.

World movement

It is also significant that very detailed attention was given to economic problems. A few years ago at such conferences the one demand was for political independence. Then the Cold War compelled consideration of the military implications of imperialism.

It is all to the good that now thought is being turned to constructive proposals for the lifting of the standard of life of the peoples in the under-developed countries.

It was finally decided to appoint a Permanent Committee to link the movements of North Africa, the Middle East and Southern Europe in continued unity of purpose. The Athens Conference will probably be followed by conferences in Tunis, Cairo and Rome, and between such periodical conferences united action will be maintained through a representative bureau. This reflects a tendency in other areas. Movements in Asia are getting together. Movements in Africa are getting together. Movements in the Caribbean are getting together. From links between these will come a World Movement.

The delegates found time to visit the Parthenon and the temple at Sounion where Pericles taught the principles of democracy two thousand years ago. One had the feeling that the Mediterranean, which gave so much to the civilisation of the world in those distant times, is now re-emerging in creative influence towards the establishment of a new and broader-based democracy and equality.

Letters to the Editor

Leukaemia and radiation

THE increase in the cases of leukaemia (now in the hundreds) in Derbyshire is causing alarm to such an extent that the Derbyshire County Council Health Department is to enquire into it.

A cousin of mine in Derby has died through this disease, leaving her husband and two small children. A lady here in Alfreton, another victim of this disease, passed away recently leaving her family bereaved. Now an Alfreton man I know quite well has told my wife that he is suffering from this complaint, and dejectedly said there is no hope of cure.

We must continue, if we would call ourselves Christians or humanists—or Buddhists or Mohammedans, for that matter—to do all in our power to have these tests and the weapons themselves abolished before leukaemia becomes a rampant plague.—**GOFFREY COX, 81 High St., Alfreton, Derby.**

Is our reader sure that the increase in leukaemia is not due to radiation from X-rays? There may well be a further increase in the next ten years, however, due to the present tests, and all power to his elbow in getting them stopped.—Ed., P.N.

A soldier's religion

REGINALD REYNOLD'S article last week reminded me of my own experience as a conscientious objector on arrival at Wormwood Scrubbs prison in 1916.

A Warden was taking note of our religion. On being asked what mine was, I replied: "Interdenominationalist".

"Inter-what" he shouted. I repeated it, but he was completely stumped. "Come up here and write it down," he said.

I have heard too of an irate Sergeant, who, unable to get satisfaction, asked a soldier:

"What does your father do on Sunday?"

"Rat catching."

"That'll do," said the Sergeant. He wrote down RC.—**FRANCIS J. WHITE, Little Dene, St. Mawes, Truro.**

I FAIL to see the point of your correspondent's letter (P.N., Nov. 8). I have never at any time doubted that my brother was muddle-headed. That's why he wanted to join the army. But the legal validity of his oath was not questioned by him (or by the Colonel); so that Mr. Evans, who deduces my brother's muddle-headed state from the invalidity of the oath, seems to be as mixed up as my brother (and the Colonel).—**REGINALD REYNOLDS, 20 Jubilee Place, London, S.W.3.**

The measure of progress

THERE is a grave need for the recent manifestations of mankind's activities to be put into some sort of perspective. First the man-made satellite, then a leakage of radio-active material. The last will probably be dismissed as one of the risks to be taken in the cause of that ambiguous ideal called progress. Pilgrim today travels by air, and where the cult is strongest stands a good chance of reaching the lunatic asylum. Anarchists are probably the only people

who tend to measure progress in terms of man himself. The reaction of most people to the Russian achievement was one of admiration, few tended to count the cost in human frustration, hunger and degradation, or thought of the sacrifices imposed, the Windscale-like accidents and miscalculations that have been the result of the rapid industrialisation of Russia. The probability is that we shall only learn with any accuracy the financial cost; this will be the least important item in the budget.

In a society that is based on power over men, power over things is an instrument for that coercive power. It is well to remember that the industrial power development that in past ages rode roughshod, consuming its human material, is still a psychological and physical menace to mankind.

If society regarded man as the measure there would, already at our elbow, be sufficient power over things, but in the scramble for power over men, industrial atomic power is as much a weapon as the military development of atomic energy. Indeed, in the event of a military stalemate and in the presence of continued economic competition for markets, it may, in the cause of expediency, become a greater menace to mankind than the H-bomb.—**ALAN ALBON, Harrock House, Buxted, Uckfield, Sussex.**

Humanism and pacifism

IN his letter on Humanism and Pacifism published in Peace News, Sept. 13, E. Walker Corby rightly pointed out that many members of the Humanist movement are pacifists on grounds other than religious ones.

As Secretary of the Manchester Humanist Fellowship, I should be glad to hear from pacifists in the Manchester Area whose belief in pacifism is based on non-religious grounds.

At our next meeting on Saturday, Nov. 16, at 3 p.m., 64, George Street, Manchester 1, Mr. K. Zilliacus, MP, will address the group on "Patriotism, Humanism, and the H-bomb," a subject of particular interest to pacifists. We shall be glad to welcome any readers of Peace News who are interested to hear the Humanist point of view.—**MISS A. HOLLAND, Hon. Sec., 517, Edge Lane, Droylsden, Manchester.**

Labour Party Conference

MAY I offer two slightly consoling thoughts on the H-bomb session at the Labour Party Conference.

(1) It may have helped to make clearer the distinction between two incompatible policies which are sometimes confused, viz., bargaining ("We'll do this if you'll do that") and unilateral action ("We'll do this whether or not you do that").

(2) The rejection of a motion is not the same as the adoption of a resolution in the opposite sense. A person who refuses to sign the Peace Pledge Union pledge does not commit himself to fight by military means; he merely refuses at the present time to commit himself not to so fight.—**B. W. CAMPBELL, 16 Charmouth Rd., St. Albans, Herts.**

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AN AMERICAN PROPOSAL TO THE RUSSIANS

By Milton Mayer

In which a well known US journalist suggests
that all that's needed is a little subtlety

MOST Americans mistrust the Russian Government, as, no doubt, most Russians mistrust the American. In this booby-trapped terrain every pass is an impasse, every meeting a skirmish, every parley a fore-ordained failure.

People who do not trust one another can coexist only so long as one of them cannot get the jump on the other; history and the common experience of mankind testify that the likelihood of mutual annihilation is an unreliable deterrent.

Even when one of the parties takes an overt step of an incontrovertibly peaceful character, the other is sure that there must be a joker somewhere. If he can't find it, he fabricates it; as when Stalin, 'way back there, interpreted the Marshall Plan as American imperialism and Dulles, 'way up here, interpreted the outback of the Russian army as a device for putting more workers in Russian atomic bomb factories.

Mice can't stop cat-fights

Where two parties regard each other as Jefferson regarded the Government of England—"the most corrupt and unprincipled on earth . . . incapable of honourable patronage or disinterested co-operation"—there are two common modes of maintaining peace between them, to wit, mediation or arbitration by an intervening third party or combination of parties.

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The Colombo Powers have not been able to persuade the two present behemoths to accept mediation, and, there being no bigger behemoth than either of them, nobody is able to compel them to submit to arbitration.

But another last narrow road to peace is open. One of the cold-warring parties can shake the mistrust of the other by demonstrating its sincerity beyond the other's power to conjure up a joker.

I have pondered this possibility for some time. I think I have hit upon the way.

Someone should have told him

THE American President has full and exclusive power over the testing of nuclear weapons, and on June 6, 1957, he said that "the authoritative document by which I act up to this minute" is the National Academy of Science report of exactly one year earlier on the radiation effects of nuclear explosions.

But the Academy report was already superannuated by new research (especially in leukaemia), by the genetical consensus that all radiation is dangerous to posterity, and by the extrapolations of many physicists and biologists, including one of the authors of the Academy report.

The "maximum permissible" dosage of 1956 was no longer permissible in 1957.

Nobody accepts the Academy report any more, including the Academicians. Everybody thinks—and, for once, everybody may be right—that any fall-out is too much fall-out.

Pull the trigger—and stop the shooting

At the moment there is quiet. But American Public Opinion, last heard from when the Eighteenth Amendment was repealed, is triggered.

It can be set off in a split second, with all the irresistible force of Public Opinion in a democracy, and the tests will stop. If the Russians want to stop the tests they have only to demonstrate their sincerity by pulling the trigger of American public opinion.

Here's how they do it.

The Russians have some 10-megaton bombs, each with a megabang about 2,000 times bigger than the Hiroshima bombs. They exploded two such bombs (or bigger) in 1956, the year in which their Siberian tests raised the Strontium content of the American soil by one-third.

In the recent hearings before the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy it developed that a group of five scientists calculated that once the stratosphere is saturated (some time within the next ten years, at the present rate of testing), the maximum amount of bomb material that can be exploded without jeopardy to the entire race will be somewhere between two and 10 megatons annually by all nations together (the American tests of 1954 alone exploded 30 megatons).

So here are the Russians with a stockpile of 10-megaton bombs (or bigger) and no place much to go.

Now, even the professors of international law do not profess that there is any international law against the selling—or giving away—of weapons. The United States does it every day and twice on Sunday; so do the



Time for baseball but not for the bomb

On the steps of the White House, Washington, a US delegation of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom shows Congresswoman Edith Green (centre, bottom row), the 10,000 signature petition calling for the cessation of nuclear weapon tests. The delegation was unable to see either President Eisenhower or any member of his staff, and had finally to hand the petition to a guard at the White House gate for transmission. Commented Mrs. Green: "Yet Ike had time personally to receive representatives who wished to present the President with a sterling silver replica of the millionth baseball manufactured."

Russians, especially on Sunday. Nor is there any international law against shooting them off in international waters, as the Japanese fishermen discovered in 1954.

If the Russians are sincere—if, I say—they can explode a 10-megaton bomb every week in the Pacific Ocean and raise the fall-out rate until it approaches the "maximum permissible" dosage of President Eisenhower's authoritative document. They can announce the explosions, and their size, in advance once a week. Within a few weeks the American people will be frenzied.

But their frenzy will be directed against the Russians, and this would not do at all, since it is peace, not war, that we want.

Switching the frenzy

So the Russians must not explode the bombs themselves. They must sell them to, say, India, and let the Indian people explode them. Each week the Indians would announce in advance that they were exploding a 10-megaton bomb, and the frenzy of the American people would smoke out the artful dodgers of the Atomic Energy Commission and compel them to talk about fall-out instead of freedom. The President would have to read up-to-date documents.

The Indians would be bland about the matter. They would say that they were

The well-known US writer and lecturer Milton Mayer declared his absolute pacifist position before the outbreak of World War II when his article "I Think I'll Sit This One Out" appeared in the million circulation Saturday Evening Post. A contributor to leading magazines, a lecturer for the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) and at many universities, colleges and churches, a consultant to the Great Books Foundation, he has been a member of the faculties of the University of Chicago and Frankfurt.

He is at present engaged in a suit against the US Government for the return of his 1952 income taxes which were seized by the Internal Revenue Service in 1955. He explained that although he wished to pay the full tax he could not do so unless the Government gave him assurance that the tax would be used not for armaments but for "peaceful and constructive purposes".

testing for defence, just like the Russians and the Americans. They would be sorry if the fall-out was approaching the permissible maximum (and would pass it any week now), but their own people were as much menaced as anyone else; to be sure, their own people, with a low life expectancy, were, perhaps, not as much concerned with survival as some other, more fortunate people. They would be glad to buy from the Americans if the Americans would sell them bombs to test.

The Indian ultimatum would be a promise to stop testing if everybody else would agree to stop testing. The American people would demand that the American Government must stop testing. The minute the United States stopped, the Russian Government would no longer be able to justify to their own people their continuation of tests, because the Russian justification, like the American, is based on competitive necessity. We assume that the English will do whatever we do.

Where blackmail is no obstacle

THE Indians might boggle at the proposition and say it was blackmail. In that case the Russians could sell the bombs to a Latin American dictator. The United States would try to buy up the dictator and threaten to overturn his government if he did not cease and desist. At this point the dictator would have to take his chance, but such is life for a dictator anyway.

The dictator would, of course, have announced that he would stop testing in exchange for universal cessation plus \$50,000,000,000 payable to him in gold by any interested parties who might have that much gold in the sock. Fifty billion dollars is a bagatelle these days, and the American panic would reach such proportions that the American Government would have to pay.

Pulling a Guatemala would be a melancholy stratagem in any case, because the Russians (whose turn it would now be to be bland) would offer to sell one 10-megaton a week to any small peace-loving nation which wanted to test bombs for purposes of defence only.

The Latin-American dictator would not care if his own people were injured by the

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Friday, November 15

CROYDON: 2.30 p.m.; Adult School Hall, Park Lane. Autumn Sale and Public Meeting opened by Miss Minnie Pallister, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Saturday, November 16

COLCHESTER: 2.30 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Shewell Road. Speaker: Gene Sharp, M.A., "An Unarmed Approach to the Nuclear Age." PPU and FOR.

LONDON: 3 p.m.; Holborn Hall, Grays Inn Road. PEACE NEWS CHRISTMAS BAZAAR. Come and support our annual great fund raising effort.

WALTHAMSTOW: 3.30 p.m.; William Morris Hall, Somers Road. Aggregate Meeting and Re-Union. Speaker: Hilda von Klenze, Chairman: Ted Redhead, Walthamstow and District Advisory Committee for Objectors and Conscripts. Tea and Social Evening. All welcome.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS: 3 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Grosvenor Park. Area Meeting, tea provided, bring food contributions to pool. PPU.

SOUTHAMPTON: 6.15 p.m.; Friends' Meeting Ho., Ordnance Rd. Speaker: Arlo Tatton, Secretary WRI. "The Pacifist Dilemma." Also Area Meeting at 3 p.m., Southern Area PPU.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS: 6.30 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Grosvenor Park. "The Moral Implications of the H-bomb." Speaker: Sybil Morrison, Chairman: Rupert Sutton, BA, ARAM, Public Mtg. PPU.

Sunday, November 17

LONDON, W.C.2: 4 p.m.; Friends' International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Speaker: Dr. A. D. Belden, London Group of the Movement for a Pacifist Church.

Monday, November 18

BEDFORD: 7.30 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., 5 Lansdown Road. Speaker: Derek Walker, BSc (Econ.), "The Fellowship Party Challenge to Pacifists." Quakers at home to local pacifists.

IPSWICH: 7.15 p.m.; Friends' Meeting Ho., Farnham Rd. "Facing the Consequences (2) A Study of Unilateral Disarmament based on the proposal by Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall and the pamphlet 'Unarmed' published by the SIPC.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Friends' International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Informal meeting of members and friends will be held to discuss the winter programme. Fellowship of Friends of Truth.

SOUTHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Ordnance Rd. Speaker: Frank Penney, "Pacifists and the Threat of Invasion." All welcome. PPU.

Tuesday, November 19

SOLIHULL: 7.45 p.m.; Church House, Church Road, Shirley. Speaker: Dr. S. Sevitt, MD, MSc, FRCP, DPH, Consultant Pathologist at the Birmingham Accident Hospital. Subject: "The Effect of A- and H-bombs—Hiroshima, Nagasaki and Bikini." Shirley Branch of UNA.

Wednesday, November 20

BRIDGWATER: 7.30 p.m.; YMCA Film Show, "Children of Hiroshima," organised by Bridgwater Youth Leaders' Committee.

LONDON, S.E.3: 8.30 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd., Kidbrooke. Speaker: Ronald Malone, BA, "Reporting Progress of Peace Work in South London." The Fellowship Party.

LONDON, E.C.2: 1.15 p.m.; St. Margaret's, Lothbury. "Christian and Jew." Rev. William W. Simpson, General Sec. of the Council of Christians and Jews, National Peace Council.

NEWCASTLE: 7 p.m.; YMCA, Blackett Street. Rev. Wm. Dagg, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Christian Pacifists and Peace.

Thursday, November 21

ALTON: 7.30 p.m.; Hillcrest, Windmill Hill. Speaker: Chris Farley, "Non-Violence Today." Alton PPU.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Speaker: John Torode, "Impressions of Germany." E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.

Saturday, November 23

LONDON, E.11: 6.30 p.m. sharp; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. Programme of Films: including "Walk to Freedom" (the non-violent struggle of Alabama Negroes). E.10 and E.11 PPU.

ST. IVES: Week-End Conference, Treloynham Manor. Subject: The Changing Face of the World. Leader: Fred S. Moorhouse, BSc. Chairman: Mrs. G. M. Lloyd-Jones. Secretary: Harold King. 18 Penynton Terrace, Redruth, Devon and Cornwall PPU and FOR.

Monday, November 25

MUSWELL HILL: 8.15 p.m.; 144 Muswell Hill Road, North London Action Council for War on Want. Group Meeting.

Tuesday, November 26

BRISTOL: 1.2 p.m.; S.W. Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors, Board Room (Third Floor), Gaunt's House, Denmark Street. Public admitted.

LONDON, N.22: 8 p.m.; Trinity Grammar School, Bounds Green Road, Wood Green. Protest Meeting against Nuclear Tests. Speakers: Dr. D. G. Arnott, Rev. J. Elias Morzan. Chairman: The Mayor, Wood Green and Southgate NCANWT.

Wednesday, November 27

LONDON, E.C.2: 1.15 p.m.; St. Margaret's, Lothbury. "Quaker work at the United Nations." Eric S. Tucker, Sec. of the Friends' Peace Committee, National Peace Council.

Every week!

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

MONDAYS

SHIPLEY: 7.30 p.m.; PPU, Labour Party Rooms, Westgate, Shipley.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1.2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

KIDBROOKE: 8.30 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Talks, plays, discussion, music. Fellowship Party.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Road, E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

FRIDAYS

BIRMINGHAM: 5 p.m. onwards; Bull Street Meeting House (outside) Peace News Selling.

Criticism that caused delight

ROBERT GREACEN reviews

Not by Bread Alone. By Vladimir Dudintsev. London, Hutchinson, 18s.

IT seems difficult for a Western reader to understand what all the fuss was about. The theme of this novel is the struggle of an inventor named Lopatkin to have his new pipe-casting machine put into production.

He has to fight against bureaucracy and a number of conservative-minded scientists. A similar kind of struggle must frequently take place in the countries of Western Europe, for new ideas are everywhere opposed by vested interests of every sort.

Mr. Dudintsev is nowhere critical of Communism as such; he is opposed only to the way in which lip-service is paid to the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Perhaps the real point about the storm the book caused in Russia is that a people who have been repressed and isolated for a generation have clutched at any straw that blows their way. Many Russians must have been delighted to see authority—if only that of the scientists and petty bosses—criticised.

The publishers make the exaggerated claim for this novel that it can stand beside the works of the pre-Revolution Russian masters. That is nonsense, and indeed a disservice to a moderately good novel, whose political repercussions have been out of all proportion to its intrinsic merit. Nevertheless, it can be recommended to those interested in the new post-Stalin atmosphere.

Types of non-violence

The Meaning of Non-Violence. By Gene Sharp, 12pp. Housman's, 6d.

THIS is substantially the text of the first of the author's eight lectures delivered at the Conway Hall last autumn under the joint auspices of the Third Way and of the Pacifist Youth Action Group.

Gene Sharp presents us with a more exhaustive classification of the historical and contemporary methods of non-violence than has yet been attempted elsewhere. His types are: non-resistance, moral resistance, passive resistance, active reconciliation, peaceful resistance, anti-authoritarian resistance, selective non-violence, non-violent direct action, satyagraha, and non-violent

NOTEBOOK

Fortieth anniversary

THIS year is not only the fortieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution. It is also the fortieth anniversary of the foundation of the American Friends Service Committee, formed by American Quakers in 1917 to give conscientious objectors opportunities for constructive work in the relief of suffering.

Much of the early work of the AFSC was done in Russia, where help was brought to war victims during several bitter winters. By 1922 the Quakers were providing a million hungry German children with a good hot meal each day, and had international centres established in Berlin, Frankfurt, Warsaw and Moscow.

Peace worker killed

AS a result of a tragic motor accident on September 21, the Leeds Peace Pledge Union has suffered a great loss, Ken Chadwick tells me.

Ernest Spencer, a Quaker and life-long pacifist, was killed and his wife Enid has since died as a consequence of the multiple injuries she sustained.

Ernest Spencer was one of that small band of First World War COs who suffered the mental torture of being sentenced to death in France and later reprieved.

Only a week before he died Ernest Spencer was a member of a small PPU delegation which interviewed Mr. Gaitksell on the subject of the H-bomb.

Only one agreed

BY way of a postscript to that Battle of Britain Sunday sermon in which the Rev. H. L. O. Rees, an RAF chaplain, blamed pacifists for World War II, I hear that the News Chronicle received a total of 70 letters on the subject. Only one writer agreed with the Chaplain.

The Editor

November 15, 1957—PEACE NEWS—7

CLASSIFIED Advertisements

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, min. 2s. 6d. (Box No. 1s. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning.

Whilst the policy of Peace News is not to restrict any concern or individual from advertising in these columns, it must be noted that we do not necessarily share the views nor the opinions of all our advertisers.

METINGS

CONWAY DISCUSSIONS. South Place Ethical Society, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. Tuesday, 7.15 p.m., November 19. G. H. Taylor.

"The Making of Mao." Admission free.

"HOW TO CURE your Asthma and Bronchitis," Alec Milne (Edinburgh), Caxton Hall, 7.30 p.m., Monday, November 18. 2s. 6d. London Natural Health Society.

S. PLACE ETHICAL SOC. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1. Sunday, 11 a.m., November 17. W. E. Swinton, PhD, "Human Biology and the Hydrogen Bomb." Adm. free.

ACCOMMODATION

HOMEY ACCOMMODATION and jolly good food for visitors and permanent guests. CANONBURY 1340. Telka Shayler, 27 Hamilton Pk., N.5.

THE VEDANTA MOVEMENT has opened a permanent branch centre in Southfields. Furnished accommodation will be available for people liking quiet ways. Gifts of furniture, etc., will be welcome. Please write: Secretary, Vedanta Movement, Elsenham Street, London, S.W.18.

EDUCATION

SPEAKING AND WRITING lessons (correspondence, visit), 5s. Dorothy Matthews, BA, 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. PRImrose 5686.

FOR SALE

CHRISTMAS CARDS? Samples, 2s. 6d., 5s., from "Caravan," international friendship movement, 84 St. Thomas's Rd., N.4.

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LITERATURE

"**ALL ABOUT RADIATION**" by Nuclear Physicist and Medical Doctor. Describes mental and physical effects of H-bomb Tests, etc., in easily read form, 10s. 8d. Send for list of books on Scientology. C. R. Vosper, 3 Coniston Road, Whitton, Middx.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to Friends' Home Service Ctr., Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

PERSONAL

CHRISTMAS PEACE WEEK. Friendship House, Buckeburg, Germany. December 22-29. Full week of celebrations, excursions, etc. Five guineas. Asians and Africans especially welcome. Details from A. Brocklehurst, 79 Brent Way, Finchley, London, N.3.

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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, all ages, part or full time work for world peace organisation. Make good and do good. Write to: M.A.N.'s Association, Dept. PWP & P, 1870 W. Arrow Hwy, Upland, California, U.S.A.

PENFRIENDS REQUIRED—home and overseas—details from: J. R. Cotterill, 32 Lightwoods Hill, Smethwick, 41, Staffs.

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AIR MAIL SUBSCRIPTION RATES

N. Africa and Middle East:

Voices of sanity

• FROM PAGE ONE

"The Government and Mr. Bevan agree that the third of these issues is the one which should decide our policy, Earl Russell wrote. "They do not face the inevitable development that nuclear weapons will, within a very short time, be manufactured by a great many States, and that, when this stage has been reached, if any one of such States is governed by a lunatic as will probably be the case) the rest of the world will have to submit or perish.

"For this development Britain will have a grave responsibility unless the present policy is reversed."

Father Trevor Huddleston, declaring J. B. Priestley's article "magnificent," urged that a copy reach "the desk of every Christian leader in this country." (Copies of "Britain and the Nuclear Bombs" are available from 10, Great Turnstile, London, W.C., price 3s. 6d. a dozen.)

Commander King-Hall charged that "Mr. Bevan's retreat to pre-nuclear age defence thinking simply shows that he was only emotionally against the H-bomb and did not understand that to abandon nuclear energy for military purposes at this moment in history is the correct strategical move and would give Britain the initiative in the cold war."

Pearson □ FROM PAGE ONE

hostility to Soviet Russia and determined opposition to every move she makes or tries to make any place any time.

"The corollary to this means taking steps to counter and defeat every such move in the hope that Russia will eventually accept without conditions our terms for ending the cold war and withdraw—actually and ideologically—behind her old Czarist boundaries. I see myself no prospect of any such easing of tension, and, ultimately, of international peace and security, if we base our policy and diplomacy on any such thesis.

"I accept the fact that no matter how enlightened and flexible our policy, we cannot safely allow it to result in a weakening of what the military call our defence posture. If, however, we allow an exaggerated and provocative posture to result from, or be encouraged by, a rigid 'unconditional surrender' type of diplomacy, we make the establishment of peace through tolerable arrangements even more difficult than it is. . . .

FERMENT OF FREEDOM

"There is a ferment of freedom ever at work, even in Russia; for freedom, as the epic of Hungary has shown, cannot be rooted out of the human mind by force or by fraud. . . . Such an evolution, however, will be held back, perhaps indefinitely, if we take fixed and final positions now in opposition to every Russian move. As I see it, if and when Russia has a legitimate interest in some area or some development, we would be foolish to act as if that interest can either be ignored or attacked.

"Such an attitude, of course, plays right into the hands of the worst elements inside the Kremlin. It also weakens our position in those nations who have no love for Communism but refuse, for reasons which seem perfectly good to them, to take sides in the cold war.

"There are situations in the world today which do not admit of any permanent solution which will bring about stability, without Russian participation in, and at least acceptance of, that solution. We might as well admit that hard fact . . ."

Fellowship Party petition

The Fellowship Party Petition, which objected to all governments' hydrogen bomb tests, urged the Government to negotiate an immediate agreement with the USA and USSR to end all nuclear tests and asked the Government "to give a great lead to the world in cancelling its own hydrogen bomb tests," was presented to the Premier on Armistice Day by the prospective Fellowship Party candidate for West Woolwich, Ronald Malone, and Stanley Bishop, Chairman of the National Executive of the Party. The total number of signatures was 6,411.

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JACK HOYLAND

John S. Hoyland died on Oct. 30, 1957.

By REGINALD REYNOLDS

EVERYBODY who really knew Jack must, surely have loved him. Three generations knew him as "Jack" and even now—perhaps more than ever—I cannot bring myself to speak of him as John S. Hoyland.

I remember him as I first saw him at Woodbrooke, in the Twenties, shortly after his return from India. He had been living for many years in the Central Provinces, teaching and learning. His views on the necessity for Indian freedom were outspoken; his admiration for Mahatma Gandhi was well-known. And I, some twenty years his junior, was drawn to this big, tough man who still had the heart of a boy and played a vigorous game of hockey, his booming voice audible a long way from the hockey-field. He preached peace, freedom, social justice and a reckless spirit of adventure.



As the years passed the youthful heart, the vigour and the deep, mellow roar of his voice remained unaffected. Long before I became interested, myself, in work camps, Jack had discovered the curative properties of voluntary manual work in a sick society. He was the author of many books and pamphlets (including a Swarthmore Lecture) which contained some of his finest and most perceptive writing; and as early as 1936 Jack Hoyland's "Digging for a New England" expressed the *credo* of community work and community living as the essential Christian "sacraments". With spade and fork, with pick and shovel, he led the way again and again—in India, in South Wales and in many a Quaker work camp. Boys and girls loved him "this side idolatry" and younger men and women who shared his ideals were constantly encouraged by his words.

These words would be brief, as a rule, but incredibly stimulating. So often, after I had written something that won Jack's approval, I would receive one of his postcards. There would be three or four words of appreciation and the "love, Jack". Or, simply, "Blessings on you, dear boy—Jack". When the "dear boy" was a man of 50 he still glowed at such tributes. Praise from one whom you so greatly love and admire, is the best praise of all.



As to the boys and girls in the schools Jack visited, I—who so often followed him—felt a back-wash such as one feels in a rowing-boat when some great vessel has passed. Go to any of the Quaker schools today and you will still feel that wash.

In the last few years before his death, Jack was unable to undertake manual labour, but the vigour of his mind and his great voice could still stir anybody capable of being stirred. His retirement from the Woodbrooke staff in 1953, occurred just after I had given up the post of Field Secretary to the Friends Peace Committee—exhausted by the interminable round of meetings and train journeys. And, by a reversal of the usual order, Jack, who was elderly and retired, already invalided out of manual labour in the work camps, took over the job and remained Field Secretary to the FPC until his death. I had lasted 15 months, and Jack had held on for four years.

There are many stories I should like to tell of Jack's courage and humour (especially if the joke were against himself) and of his essential humility. I hope somebody will one day give us a full-length life of this man, and I know I can supply a few happy anecdotes. But I am glad to have been asked to write this brief note on one of the finest Quakers of our time—for Jack's sake and for the sake of Jessie Hoyland and his many friends.

*His life was gentle; and the elements so mixed in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world: This was a man.*

By Sybil Morrison

LUNATIC WORDS

We must not reject the idea of peaceful co-existence, but this cannot be maintained by appeasement. It is possible only if the free world is strong and resolute.

—The Prime Minister, Guildhall Banquet, November 9, 1957.
It is not a question of admiring peace and loving our enemies, but of securing peace without allowing our enemies to destroy us. The nuclear deterrent may be just as good a way as universal disarmament.

—The Sunday Times, November 10, 1957.

THE flood of clichés with which the Prime Minister has deluged his hearers in recent weeks, reached its highest level last Saturday at the Lord Mayor's banquet, and he is ably seconded by the Sunday newspaper which supports the policy of his party.

The words used could have been used about Hitler, and probably were, twenty years ago; there seems to be no recognition of any change, and a grim determination to proceed as though the revolutionary discovery of splitting the atom, with its subsequent developments in mass destruction, had never occurred.



It is surely little less than lunacy (and perhaps a sojourn on the moon with no return would be a suitable place for those who hold such theories!) to suggest that nuclear weapons are as sure a way to securing peace as total disarmament.

The so-called "nuclear deterrent" is already with us, and it could scarcely be argued that the world is at peace. That would mean something entirely different from the present atmosphere in which the Great Powers stand to their rocket stations ready to fire their monstrous warheads into space; in which every scientific experiment comes with a shock of fear and a shudder of apprehension; in which new "alert" systems to match the shrinking warning time afforded by Russia's missiles, have to be adopted, and the whole world trembles at its own temerity.

If there was total universal disarmament, naturally such terrifying tension and appalling anxiety would be at an end. Plainly it is nothing but wordy rhetoric to suggest that the way of terror and tension is just as good as eliminating the weapons which cause the terror and tension.

Mr. Macmillan's strong arm speech is made up of words devoid of meaning, of pompous platitudes and puerile palaver, with no touch of reality in them, let alone any suggestion of statesmanship.



The Kremlin proposals for high level conferences, an end to the cold war and the race in armaments, co-existence, and settling of ideological disputes not through

Peace News Hour at Camden Town

ENTERING Camden Town underground station the other night I suddenly became aware of someone calling out "Peace News! Peace News!" No Scot was ever more thrilled by "the pipes of the misty moorland" than I am by the cry of a Peace News seller.

I turned round to find Joan Layton continuing to use her "Peace News Hour" in selling at this strategic "rush hour" point. Half-a-dozen copies had been sold in about half-an-hour when we met.

Is there another spot almost as busy as Camden Town where you could sell regularly for an hour on a Friday or Saturday night?

One hundred street sellers, each giving an hour, might well push our circulation up by another 1,000 copies a week.

Join in the "Peace News Hour." We will supply a dozen copies of Peace News and a poster to reach you by Friday morning for 3s. 6d., post free. Left-over copies may be deducted and a monthly account opened to save postage. For a really topical appeal you can fill in your own slogan every week on blank posters available free of charge.—THE EDITOR.

war but through peaceful competition, are not mentioned except by implication in wholesale repudiation.

Apparently Britain's Prime Minister thinks that any consideration of such suggestions would be tantamount to a weak and grovelling approach, a crawling, cringing, cowardly attitude that has come to be known as "appeasement".

Yet, the meaning of appeasement is: "to pacify by means of satisfying", and Russia in the first flush of her superior satellite strength might very easily have threatened rather than make any suggestions designed to satisfy the natural desire of people to be at peace.

If co-existence with Communist Russia is only possible through the means of competing for space as once the nations competed for territory, the situation is very little different from any other armaments race, except for the totally fatal consequences.

Mr. Eisenhower has asked for deeds from the Kremlin, not words. Both he and Mr. Macmillan would do well to think also in terms of deeds, for their words belong to a past age, and have no relation to a situation in which man's inventions have made victory in a war a total impossibility.

There is in all of us, even the most callous and cruel, a spark of good, which if trusted may come into its own. To take the Kremlin proposals on trust would not be appeasement, but commonsense; it would not be cowardice but courage; it would not be weakness, but strength.

If deeds are called for, let Britain abandon her nuclear stockpile; such an action would speak more clearly, more loudly, more peacefully than any words, in any language, in the whole world.

IN PEACE NEWS NEXT WEEK

A new series of articles by Leslie Hale, MP, starting in Peace News next week.

The Mystery of Nye Bevan

The War that should never have Happened

The Poverty of Militarism

The Economics of Peace

The Third Force in World War; Non-violent Resistance

In these articles Leslie Hale explains why he has rejected the arguments put forward by Nye Bevan for the retention of the H-bomb, gives a detailed analysis of our military weakness after spending unprecedented sums on arms, shows what we could do economically if we disarmed, advocates a middle-bloc of peace-loving nations, and, finally, emphasises that an unarmed people, united, prepared and determined cannot be subjugated.

And don't miss the Prisoners of Peace Day and Christmas Book Number. Out on Nov. 29.

Also next week:

THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL

WILLIAM WORTHY, American journalist and broadcaster, tells of his battle with the State Department after he had become the "first American reporter to enter China in seven years.

Declaring the ban "unreasonable," Time magazine described Bill Worthy as "a hard working foreign correspondent who covered Korea, the Bandung conference and other major events . . ." Worthy, a frequent contributor to Peace News, has had wide support in the US newspaper world for his year-long struggle. "Editors," said Time, "hailed the correspondent's arrival in Peking as a Worthy cause!"